

PEACE NEWS

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Looking Backward

THIS week was the first anniversary of the beginning of the war; and journalists and politicians took the opportunity of a more comprehensive view than is their wont. Yet not one of these statements that we have read has the courage to take a really long view of the war. Even Mr. J. A. Spender, who sees the immediate occasion of the war in the Russo-German pact, explained the pact in these words: "The Germans had trumped all the cards available to the French and British negotiators by offering Russia one half of Poland, the free hand in Finland and the Baltic States, and the withdrawal of any aggressive designs which threatened her in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe."

Such a view of the Russo-German pact, though satisfying to the British conscience, is curiously superficial. It completely neglects all the reasons why the realistic Russian statesmen abandoned any further attempt to collaborate with Britain and France. The sacrifice of Czechoslovakia was crucial in determining the Russian change of front. Not only was Czechoslovakia ideologically and strategically the link between Russia and the Western democracies; it was the acid test of Franco-British good faith. France was absolutely committed to the defence of Czechoslovakia. If the defence of democracy by military means was seriously meant, Czechoslovakia had to be defended, Russia was ready to fulfil her pledge. We and the French backed out.

The next step was fatal. We knew that Germany had serious demands to make upon Poland. If Germany's demands on Czechoslovakia were, as we pretended, just, her demands on Poland were far juster. Whereas Czechoslovakia had treated her racial minorities well, the Polish treatment of them was abominable. Moreover, the Government of Poland was in the hands of a corrupt, faithless, and incompetent oligarchy. Yet to this corrupt and faithless oligarchy, our Government proceeded to give a unilateral guarantee, after betraying the honourable and enlightened Czech democracy, which Poland had helped to dismember. The action was as stupid as it was immoral. We could not guarantee Czechoslovakia, which was Russia's friend; but we could guarantee Poland, which was her enemy. The cause of the Russo-German pact was quite simple. Russia could not trust us.

The shortness of men's memories in war-time is appalling. Many men of high principle say to themselves quite seriously: "We cannot trust Hitler," without ever bethinking themselves that Russia decided that she could not trust us, and deliberately preferred to deal with Hitler instead. Look down our own grim record since 1918: Versailles, Manchukuo, Abyssinia, Spain, Czechoslovakia. The country with such a record behind it can hardly with decency proclaim as a maxim of policy that international engagements are sacred and that "it cannot trust Hitler." Is it any wonder that Stalin, Hitler, and Mussolini, cynical in their own political morality, are unanimously cynical about ours?

Ah, but we pacifists have no right to criticize; we condoned the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia. We did; and we did not always make it plain enough that such a sacrifice was a moral turpitude unless this country was prepared to carry appeasement through to the bitter end. We were fools enough—some of us—to believe that a country which would take upon itself the fearful responsibility of sacrificing Czechoslovakia, intended to redeem its action in the only way it could be redeemed, by sacrificing itself if the challenge came. We pacifists did condone the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia; but we have never condoned sacrificing your friends and refusing to sacrifice yourselves.

(continued on back page)

IF WAR FAILS TO DEFEND IDEALS *What Then?* — asks — Dr. A. D. BELDEN

QUITE the most tragic aspect for me of this second World War is the way in which the churches have by so heavy a majority supported it, and so many leaders have expended their finest intellectual talent in its advocacy.

Their fundamental argument is that the highest spiritual and moral values are at stake—freedom, justice for small nations, loyalty to national pledges and treaties and to international law and order. Nor have they failed to assert that Christianity itself is in peril.

There is no need for us to question the sincerity or the rough justice of this attitude. We are no lovers of the brutal Nazi régime, or defenders of fascist terrorism.

What we are interested in, however, is the idea—a curious one in the light of Christian history—that values so subtly spiritual, so truly moral as these, can be successfully defended by the medley of clumsy accidents called modern war.

What It Means

This war means that with the approval of our churches, thousands of British youths are engaging in the dastardly act of bombing from the air. Although we may assume that more care is taken by them than by the enemy to attack military objectives, it is well known that this aim can only be approximately achieved and that many civilian lives must be sacrificed in such episodes.

The general mind of the public is being hardened to an incredible callousness and savagery by the continual acquiescence in murder on land, sea, and in the air, whether by ourselves or the enemy. It would be interesting if we could know the full total of human beings already sacrificed in this struggle. What has the Church to say about this destruction, on so large a scale, of living spiritual values? What of blood-guiltiness?

Moreover, victory by these means has a terribly corroding effect upon the moral quality of the motive involved. We saw in 1918 how easily the flood of moral idealism, which was poured over the first World War, was lost in the desert during the making of the so-called peace. The Versailles Treaty, with its ugly sequel of continued blockade and disloyalty to the terms of the Armistice and to the spirit of the League Covenant, proved but the sowing of the dragon's teeth for another war. Already in this war the number is increasing of those who call for vengeance once more upon the people as well as the rulers of Germany.

If Britain Lost

Now, however, the spectre arises of a possible, if not probable, defeat of the forces championing these spiritual values of freedom, justice, and law. After the collapse of Holland, Belgium and France, and the resulting isolation

of the British Empire, it is no longer unrealistic to face the possibility of Britain losing the war. That is not defeatist, unless the new press warning against complacency is defeatist.

We of the Peace Pledge Union and the Christian pacifist movement would regard such a defeat as a great loss to the progressive tendency of the world; but also we are the last people in the world to be afraid of it. We did not believe in the first place in this way of defending liberty, justice and law, and hence its passing will leave us fundamentally unmoved.

But can it leave the Churches in anything but despair? Or will they then discover that there is another and "more excellent" way?

Certainly here is a possibility, grim though it may seem to most, that ought to be faced by a wise and sincere people. What plans have our national leaders for retreat from brute force to spiritual warfare in the event of a Hitler victory?

When Arms Fail

Have we not the right to say to these men—

When your method of defence is exhausted, ours will still hold the field and operate as vigorously as now against the root cause of all this horror—man's belief in war and the use of brute force against his fellows. Would it not be wise, therefore, on your part to give us scope for developing our method and opportunity with the public to enlarge our human resources for this spiritual warfare of ours which will never know surrender? Would not this be a truer patriotism on your part than the present policy of repression and foolish identification of us with Fifth Columnists.

Have we not the right to say to the pathetically eager ecclesiastical apologists for the war, especially to the expacifists among them?—

Life is in process of deciding this grave issue between us. Your method of defending Christianity by the sword and the bomb may fail—indeed is failing. What then? Our method, though as yet scarcely tried on the scale of the Church's resources, has not yet failed. Will you not relax your opposition to us and give us a wider and richer opportunity?

You may have greater need of the conscientious objector yet than you dreamed, and may need him in far greater numbers. If you and your conscripted Christian youth fail, our warfare, though unarmed, will still be in progress and urgently needed by you, if spiritual values are to be defended and conserved.

These are not unreasonable demands on our part. It is high time we abandoned any apologetic note to which we may have been tempted by our desire not to offend. Pacifists are both the first line and the last line of defence in what Alfred Noyes has called "the white-hot war."

Justified by History

I repeat, history justifies us in our method. In any one of a dozen places between imperial Rome and the persecution of non-conformists in Great Britain, you may see the world buried fathoms deep beneath armour-plated tyranny with no hope of armed revolt against it. Yet that tyranny has again cracked and burst wide open before the spiritual vitality and the moral dynamic of unarmed witnesses to truth and right. Generation by generation the martyrs for freedom, justice and law, wielding no weapon but

the sword of the spirit, have won an increasing victory.

If brute force had been the deciding factor, even such churches as we possess today would never have come into being.

So we are warriors all! Just as in the carnal strife some fight with old-fashioned and ineffective guns and tanks, and others with more up-to-date and heavier armoured weapons, so we, abandoning altogether the weapons of a world which is still of the brute, in spite of the prostitution of science to its service, make use only of the final weapon of man, the two-edged sword of the Son of Man. That weapon "proceedeth out of His mouth." It is the sword of truth and love, the instrument not of mere human, but of divine victory—a spiritual defence of spiritual values.

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

Rumanian Share-Out

EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

AS the *Sunday Times* puts it, with a naivety which charms me, "Rumania has fared ill since she renounced the British guarantee." The implication that she would have fared better had she not renounced it is, as Flaubert used to say, HENAUROME.

However, it is difficult to work up any sympathy with Rumania, guarantee or no guarantee. It has never been an edifying country: neither of course—since the days when British workmen were taken in by Kossuth—has Hungary, which now gets two-thirds of Transylvania.

How long the system of colossal estates and an impoverished peasantry which prevails in both countries will endure is doubtful. Probably even Hitler does not look upon the Hungarian landed aristocrat with the same benevolent eye as our own high society. That they are chiefly Jockey Club folk will hardly arouse his sympathy. And there is always the pull of Russia to be considered.

Balkan Influences

IN the *Manchester Guardian* the idea is mooted that Russia has agreed to let Hitler have a more or less free hand in organizing his *Lebensraum* in the Balkans in return for joint control of the Straits and a free hand for Russia in Kars and Iran, at the expense of Turkey.

However that may be—and Turkey must certainly be saying bitter things about the ineptitude of our Russian diplomacy—it is clear enough that British "influence" in the Balkans is a thing of the past, and that something more forceful than the old Austro-Hungarian Empire has come into being. The idea that it will ever be in our power to shake the new order that is being created in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, or to create a new order of our own there, is a fantasy.

The brave days of Stratford de Redcliffe and Don Pacifico are gone for ever. We should do well to accept the inevitable.

"Re-Educating" Germany

THE same kind of illusionism—fifty years behind the times, but granted a new lease of life by our precarious victory in the last war—lies behind the concern expressed by Lord Halifax

One Shilling per Reader

THE Fighting Fund has slumped lately. Please remedy this immediately. We need it more than ever.

We must have a margin in order to face foreseen and unforeseen demands. We have had to use practically the whole of the Fund to purchase certain essential printing equipment; and much more is required. One shilling from every reader will enable us to do what is necessary.

Send it now, and send one, or more, for the other fellows who forget

A Pacifist Commentary

in his speech of February, and now by an article in *The Times*, over the problem of re-educating Germany out of its new Nazi "religion."

That the "religion" is a poor and retrograde thing is undoubted. But it has filled a vacuum. The contempt for Christianity, which is the most significant thing about it, will not be removed by any action of ours. The vacuum itself was created largely by the manifest unreality of the Christian religion.

As far as the large-scale political activities of Europe during the last twenty-five years are concerned, Christianity might never have existed. Hitherto, most countries have given a Christian veneer to their nationalism. Germany and Russia have dropped the camouflage. And their new "religions" are immensely more effective than the old one, probably because they do correspond to the activities of the modern mass-man, for whom the social organization of his country is infinitely more of a reality than God.

Do we propose to convert the German back to Christianity by starving him?

"Nationalist Christianity"

THE truth is simply that the spurious Christianity under which Europe has been content to carry on for centuries has been repudiated by a set of cynical and forthright men.

In Italy, Mussolini, the free-thinker, realizes that there may be some advantage in a nominal Catholicism; but he is quite able to insist that it shall be merely nominal. *The Osservatore Romano*, the famous organ of the Vatican, which did frequently express a larger point of view than that of Italian nationalism, is to cease publication, at the same time as a goodly phalanx of Italian bishops proclaims that the Holy Sepulchre must be in the custody of the house of Piedmont: in other words, that Palestine belongs to the Italian *Lebensraum*.

In Japan, all foreign priests and bishops are now excluded by the Japanese National Christian Church. Everywhere, in fact, organised Christianity is being faced with an ultimatum: either it must become nationalist or be extruded from the modern State.

Nationalist Christianity is, of course, a contradiction in terms. How deep a contradiction is not easily realized in a country like Britain, where nationalism is centuries old, and its nationalist self-assertion was inextricably mixed up, at the very beginning, with a movement for religious independence.

After Europe's Travail

THE chances of re-establishing a Christian Europe are fantastically small. A Christian Europe, if ever it is created, will be born after long travail, during which Christianity itself will undergo a complete transformation.

Before a re-creation of Christendom begins to be even conceivable the fierce fires of nationalism will have to burn themselves out. The consolidation of Europe will have to be effected on the economic and political planes first. And, I repeat once more, the brutal methods of Hitler may be the appointed means of accomplishing this.

Then the re-education of Germany will be taken in hand by events. Hitler, or his successor, will rediscover the truth of the old adage: you can do anything with bayonets except sit on them. The fact that it is bayonets no longer, but bombing planes, does not alter the truth.

A Question of Faith

ANYHOW, I do not believe it does. This is where faith comes in. I do not believe it is possible to maintain the present German social and political system for long: still less, impose it on other peoples.

A pessimistic sociologist will point out to me that the powers of central control in the hands of a state-authority are now infinitely greater than they were thirty, or even ten years ago. The technique of modern propaganda is potent in ways undreamed of.

I know it. Yet I do not believe that man can be conditioned into helotry for ever. I believe, too, that if only a fraction of nominal Christians had had the courage of their faith, "Resist not evil," my faith in the nature and future

Letters To The Editor

Day of National Prayer

IN two days' time, those of us who are members of divers branches of the Christian Church will be urged to take part in yet another Day of National Prayer. No doubt the majority of preachers will base their themes on the Old Testament story of David slaying Goliath, while most of the organ preludes and postludes will consist of Elgars' "Land of Hope and Glory." If any of us utter a protest that Almighty God is being used by the nation as a "tribal deity" we shall be promptly informed that prayers are not being offered for victory in any sense of aggressive nationalism, but merely for the victory of right over wrong and good over evil.

But Jesus said of prayer: "If ye shall ask any thing IN MY NAME, I will do it." (John 14, v.14). To pray "in my name," however, obviously keeps us from all prayer that is not consistent with the will of God.

The food-blockade is, we are repeatedly told, vital to our war effort (which really means vital to victory); so in praying for victory as Jesus taught us to pray "in my name," we are either being illogical, or assuming that the food-blockade with its resultant starvation, is consistent with the will of God. Surely no matter how evil may be the things against which we claim to be fighting we cannot have this compromise, for "He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." (Matt. 5. v. 45.)

Frankly, it seems that so to pray to our Heavenly Father, and conclude such petitions "through Jesus Christ our Lord" is a sheer mockery.

W. J. G. BRADFORD.

of man would be more demonstrable than it is.

Meanwhile, the conflict between good men today is between those who can, and those who cannot, believe in the innate decency of man. If Christianity covered the field (as it does not) we could say between the heretical and orthodox Christians. The heretic does not believe that goodness needs the bombing plane to back it.

New Economic Organization

THE *Times* I observe, is still obsessed with the idea of a new economic order for Europe. That is a very right and proper obsession, if only one grapples with the problem.

But *The Times* talks big about the necessity, and offers not the faintest indication how the new order is to be achieved, or what it will look like when it is achieved. But it has invented a new way of seeming to tackle the problem and evading it completely. The new economic order will be created in the act of feeding a destitute Europe. In other words, there will have to be a colossal "relief" organization, presumably controlled by the British, and this will be the new economic organization of Europe.

The Times has given Herr Hitler great encouragement in the past (notably in the case of Czecho-Slovakia); it must be helping his propaganda immensely now.

"Plunder"

MY nearest neighbour is a poultry-farmer; and so it happens that I know something about the plight of our poultry-farmers today. When therefore *The New Statesman* gives me as evidence of the systematic plundering of occupied countries by Germany the fact that "the slaughter of poultry in Denmark, for instance, has gone up from

383,000 kilos in May, 1939, to 611,000 kilos in May, 1940; and the Ministry of Agriculture reports that the pig population is to be reduced by half," I am not impressed. Nor should *The New Statesman* be.

Two-thirds of British poultry are condemned to be slaughtered; and in *The Times* (Sept. 2) I read that there is a "deliberate decision to suppress pig-breeding and pig-feeding in this country." The cause, in both cases, is precisely the same: shortage of feeding-stuffs. Denmark imported nearly all her food-grains precisely as we do.

I don't profess to know whether the food-supplies of Denmark are being systematically plundered by the Germans; but if there is no other evidence than this, it must be dismissed as artificial propaganda.

South African Nationalists

I DO not love "nationalists" of any kind: the South African variety is as objectionable as any. Its policy appears to consist in being anti-British, and even more anti-native (if that is possible) than the other side.

But when people expatriate on the unity of the British Empire it behoves them to remember the existence of this strong and outspokenly pro-German party in South Africa. Recently the *Spectator* picked up a gem from a speech by Mr. Pirow, Hertzogite Minister for Defence in the recent coalition government:

Mr. Pirow declared that France was South Africa's enemy, by reason of her African policy. It was a dangerous policy, for it conceded to the native populations' rights at least equal to those enjoyed by the whites. Now the "forced volunteers" of the Union would be fighting not for Britain but for France, their potential enemy.

So there is pacifism—and pacifism. Mr. Pirow wants peace for the sake of the sjambok.

How Can We Convert The War-Minded?

the war-minded by any argument or appeal?

As to the former method, had we not every argument of any value on our side? War is a denial not only of Christianity but of commonsense. It is incredibly expensive in life and money and achieves nothing except a temporary glorification of the victorious leaders, which later, turns as a rule to execration. But all those unanswerable arguments against war have been written and spoken thousands of times during the past twenty years, and how few real converts have been made, as the result!

Appeal, then? Not to commonsense but to the hearer's love of goodness. But has not that appeal been made continually from a few pulpits and in principle from any number of others—the latter subscribing to a theory, the former accepting it as a living truth?

So I had to face the problem that an overwhelming proportion of humanity is not to be converted either by commonsense or religion—a deduction that the idealist reaches very reluctantly after long years of experience. And from that I led on to the further conclusion that no-one can be a true pacifist until he has found peace within himself, that is to say until he has come to love God with all his heart and mind and strength.

This may sound like defeatism but it is not because the famous counsel of perfection though not universally applicable, is possible for the few; and I believe that the time is coming when the spiritually guided will have power in this world and will eventually rule it. Nevertheless, at the present time, though I am very ready to make my protest against war as the great evil, I believe that it would serve no purpose for me to repeat once again the unanswerable arguments against it.

J. D. BERESFORD.

The Editor's reply to Mr. Beresford's letter will appear next week.

Comfortably Off...

Some are born Comfortably Off, but for most of us the state of being Comfortably Off is hard of achievement. Greater aims absorb our thoughts and activities. Yet thrift remains a virtue, if a humble one.

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Those who hold the principles of a freedom-loving democracy, resent the totalitarian attempts to enforce a form of slavery; and the only effective expression of that resentment is to initiate as clearly as possible totalitarian methods, as we are now doing.

Our adversaries declare that might is the only right. We deny that and start to disprove their assertion by the use of greater might.

And the same mistake, I think, underlies the greater part of pacifist propaganda when it becomes, as it almost inevitably does become, a definite policy. In our whole-hearted condemnation of war we condemn also the war-mongers, and whether they be German or English, they become in that moment our enemies, and ourselves potential belligerents. For how shall we convert them without the exercise of might?

That is, indeed, the problem of the true pacifist, a conclusion that I was facing long before September, 1939. Is it possible, I asked myself, to convert

Let the Printers of
"Peace News"
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THANKOFFERING

To Dick Sheppard Peace Pledge Union
Ramsgate 28:8:40

Dear Sir,

Please accept 10s. (enclosed) toward your fund, as a thankoffering to God for sparing my life during our mass raid of Saturday August 24. I know of no better way. Guns to my mind, will never help, only prolong folk's sufferings. May God bless your cause.

From a lonely Widow,
whose heart bleeds to see so many homeless and suffering and sorrow in this town alone.

P.S. I wish it were more. I have no means except my Widow's Pension. In fact I drew the enclosed only last evening. Good luck go with it.

The above anonymous letter was received last week by Frank Middleton, the Accountant at PPU headquarters, who tells us that it is typical of many he is receiving these days.

We need a POSITIVE PACIFISM

WHAT does pacifism stand for? Is it a mere tag or label which some of us wear inside our coats, to be produced when it is expedient, or does it stand for something that lives, something big, something for which we are prepared to make big sacrifices?

I think it stands for something big. It is something big; Gandhi has it, Denmark has it, and a remnant of people in this country have it. It is the germ of a new world order, based on co-operation and the love of mankind.

The old order is fast disappearing, it is whirling faster and faster to destruction, it cannot hold together much longer. It will burst, and what then? It all depends upon the alien parts of that order, people with some wisdom who have foreseen its downfall, the pacifists who have remained calm, waiting, ready to build.

Delay is Dangerous

BUT there is danger in waiting. The centre parts of the old machine will not be worn as much as the outer parts. They don't get as much friction. They will be ready and in position to build up the old order again or something akin to it. This is the danger which we pacifists must guard against now.

I am afraid many of us pacifists are fascinated by the mere pace of the machine, waiting for it to burst. Then we will say, "I told you so." But then it will be too late to build a new world order. It is now we pacifists must wake up and work for our new responsibilities, as humble helpers in the creation of a new world order.

Armchair pacifism must go! Reading and writing about ideals and comforting ourselves with the thoughts of other wishful thinkers must go: dealing out little donations here and there, while giving our main support to the old order, must go. We must, if we believe in pacifism as something more than a name, as something big, we must all make big sacrifices.

Put It Into Practice

THERE are a few who are making big sacrifices, who are standing apart from the whirling machine and giving practical expression to their pacifism in the effort to create community life, living and working, not for themselves, but for the community as a whole. These pacifists are laying the foundations of the new world: they are putting into practice what they preach: that pacifism is a "way of life," not a label.

We cannot all contract out of this system at once. But those who cannot must give strength to those who can. And there are dozens, aye, hundreds who can, and are willing and eager to put their ideals, and ours, into practice in the form of community life. But they are hampered by circumstances, mostly financial, and a certain lack of real co-operation among pacifists.

MARY GAMBLE describes her FAITH IN THE P.P.U.

When talking to some young conscientious objectors the other day I said, "I have tremendous faith in the Peace Pledge Union." One of them asked me to explain what I actually meant by that, and my very inadequate answer made me realize the need to clarify my own thoughts.

What is it I have faith in? A number of men and women who have signed the Peace Pledge. The activities of the groups in different parts of the country? No, my faith is in something much larger, and far more fundamental than that.

OVER and over again I have been disappointed—disillusioned is not too strong a word to use—by the PPU as an organization. I have felt our various committees to be lacking in imagination. I have been bewildered by the obvious cleavage of opinion among us. I have been conscious of the futility of many of our public meetings. And at the last A.G.M. I well nigh reached despair.

But deep down I have never lost faith in—what? The movement which the PPU must become if it is to fulfil its destiny. The movement I believe it can become. And I use the word "movement" deliberately, not "organization," for "movement" means something living, dynamic. When I am in particularly low spirits I hang on to my belief in the PPU simply because I cannot believe in anything else. All the existing political parties, together with the Christian Churches, have proved themselves unworthy of any kind of faith.

But I never remain downhearted for

We may not all agree with the community way of life; we may be prejudiced against it for several reasons, conscious and sub-conscious. The existing system offers, to some more than others, many personal material comforts and pleasures, which under community life would not exist, or they would be shared, and in consequence lose something of their personal value to us.

This is what is often meant by "losing one's individuality". I find it enlightening and sometimes painful to analyse my supposed individuality in the light of my principles and ideals.

Pioneers of New Order

IN spite of such criticisms of community life, most will agree that this present order must go and is going, and it will have eventually to be supplanted by a truly co-operative society, in which freedom of expression in every form is cultivated for the equal benefit of all.

This being so, we cannot help but recognise the value of the pacifists who are willing and eager to pioneer such work: they are the people who are prepared to do the spade work for our ideals, literally to do the hard digging, make hard sacrifices and face a hostile world to lay the foundations of that society about which so many words have been written and spoken. They are taking the front line, we must organize the rear. It is our job to see that they are supplied with materials, to see that nothing hinders the successful prosecution of their effort to lay the foundations of our new social order.

To do this our sacrifices must be such that at least one community centre in each county can be started and financed. We all could contribute something and if we all will, each according to his utmost ability, contribute cash to purchase materials to furnish, and prayer to strengthen and give guidance to such centres, our ideals will cease to be mere wishful armchair pacifism, but will be converted into something big, something dynamic.

The old order is demanding sacrifices, its defenders are clearing out attics and contributing generously to buy machines of destruction. Is not our way better than theirs? And if so, ought we not to make bigger sacrifices?

G. BOREHAM

long, and my faith in the PPU is not usually based on disillusionment with all else. It is a living faith. A passionate belief that our pacifist movement is capable of becoming a body of men and women who are fully aware, not only of the devilry and degradation of war, but of the vast changes in society that are taking place from day to day, and of the totally different world which is coming into being through the agony of total war. Men and women who are capable of understanding society as a whole, and of doing so without losing sight of God in each individual of whom society is made up.

AS I looked into a bomb crater the other day with a woman who, only a few hours before, had been lying on her kitchen floor, sheltering her young son with her body, only twelve feet from where the bomb fell, the criminal inhumanity of modern war was brought home to me more than ever before. As the war has gradually developed from one stage of frightfulness to another, my conviction of the rightness and truth of pacifism has deepened. And, although some of our members have been driven by the horrors of Nazism to accept the view that military force is the only remedy, I believe that the great majority of the men and women of the Peace Pledge Union have experienced that same deepening of conviction as myself.

In those people lies my faith. In their energy and enthusiasm, and simple, disinterested devotion to the cause of peace. In this tense and desperate moment of total war we are scattered all over the country, and, driven by the necessity of the times, our lives and activities are extremely varied. Some of our conscientious objectors are in prison, while others have accepted alternative service. A few of our speakers are also in prison, and many of us have been driven to attach ourselves to various kinds of community.

But whether our pacifism compels us to strive to save the dying remnant of democracy by propaganda, or to endeavour to begin to feel our way, by experience, to the new kind of living, which is necessary to a society based on the simple human virtues,—the only kind of society where the vital freedoms can be preserved—our belief in pacifism as a way of life is equally firm.

SO when I say that I have great faith in the Peace Pledge Union I mean that I have faith in men and women who have faith in themselves. In themselves because they know their own singleness of purpose to be the outcome of a deeper faith in something above and beyond themselves.

Lately I have been doing some work on the land, and have learnt something of the faith of the tiller of the soil. He knows the earth will respond to his labours. He knows the seasons will come and go; and come again; that the fear of invasion, or the other horrors of war will not affect them. His is a simple faith, yet one most profound.

Seeing it as something which springs from singleness of mind, Charles Morgan in his preface *The Flashing Stream* writes: "A countryman has it. Who being himself very old, and without any hope of the event, goes on his knees and plants an acorn in the ground."

NEW BIRMINGHAM COMMUNITY

It is hoped to bring together a group of about twenty people "who aim to make Christian ideals not only a way of their life but of their workmanship" in a community at The Grange Centre, Wythall, Birmingham 14.

In addition to the centre, there are some 9½ acres of land, outbuildings for stock, and an exceptionally large garage that can be converted into workshops. The first task will be to bring the land into cultivation, and there will certainly be no income from it for the next nine months, but it is expected that from next May there will be an increasing amount for the kitchen and for the market in exchange for goods needed.

There are no set charges, but the cost per person is about 25s. a week, which those who already form the nucleus of the group are paying, and which all who can afford it will be expected to pay. With a full house, it is believed, expenses should not exceed 15s. per head.

Further particulars may be had from Henry Hilditch, at the centre, and a member can be sent to talk about the community to PPU or other groups.

Women's Peace Campaign

Dame Sybil Thorndike, recalling a regulation introduced by Mr. Churchill in 1912 permitting an amelioration of the conditions of certain prisoners, has written to the Prime Minister and to Sir John Anderson asking that similar provisions be applied now to the case of Miss Sybil Morrison, who is in Holloway Gaol, and PPU members are urged by the Women's Peace Campaign to write letters to the same effect.

A Stimulating Pamphlet

Post-War Poverty and Unemployment can be Prevented. By T. T. Wyatt and D. Caradog Jones. With a Postscript by J. R. Bellerby. (6d., Hilbre Point, Hoylake, Cheshire.)

We recommend this stimulating pamphlet, particularly for group study. It calls for much more searching criticism than we can give it here, not on purely economic grounds (where the argument is convincing) but because it avoids the vital question of the social tensions which will be created by any attempt to put the economic optimum into practice.

What will be done, for instance, with the millions whom the Government dare not demobilize? This is the most urgent example of the basic problem: How is a planned economy to be reconciled with our "freedoms"?

But at the economic level the authors' principle that "reliance should be placed solely on increased production, not on a reduction in the supply of money," for reducing post-war prices is sound.

"... If I have any desire at all, it is to show the brotherhood of man. This is a big statement and it sounds a little precious. Generally a man is ashamed to make such a statement. He is afraid sophisticated people will laugh at him. But I don't mind. I'm asking sophisticated people to laugh. That is what sophistication is for. I do not believe in races. I do not believe in governments. I see life as one life at one time, so many millions simultaneously, all over the earth. Babies who have not yet been taught to speak any language are the only race of the earth, the race of man; all the rest is pretence, what we call civilization, hatred, fear, desire for strength. ... But a baby is a baby. And the way they cry, there you have the brotherhood of man, babies crying. ..."

—From the story, "Seventy Thousand Assyrians."

ONE YEAR OF WAR—WHAT NOW?

John McGovern, M.P., Fenner Brockway, Walter Padley
Trevor Williams will speak at an I.L.P. Mass Rally

AT THE CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE, W.C.1
ON SUNDAY 8TH SEPTEMBER AT 7.30 P.M.

Messages will be read from International Socialists of all Countries

A NOURISHING
FOOD

CADBURY'S
BOURNVILLE
PLAIN
CHOCOLATE

TENSION

By JOHN BARCLAY

WHEN 'wailing Winnie' sounds her note of warning, the pulse of the nation perceptibly quickens. The tension—seldom relaxed nowadays—is tightened, and vital hours of sleep are lost.

Several people have asked me how the PPU Groups are standing up to it and whether the strain and preoccupation caused by unrestricted air warfare is taking its toll among our active members. As far as I can judge by letters and meetings, the really active member is standing up to the new situation very well; but the non-active has drawn further into the seclusion of his own philosophy.

It is difficult for anyone who has not experienced constant bombing to understand how it saps the energy and undermines the will. The ear is always listening and the eye wandering heavenward after possible new terrors from the air, with the direct consequence of a lessening of concentration on the things that should chiefly concern us. Pacifists—in all other respects the same timid fearful souls as the majority of their fellow-men—have somehow to overcome this weakness and so conduct themselves as not to become either nervous or sleep-weary. So much depends on our gaining the initiative and reclaiming the leeway so terribly lost during the last few years. We have thousands of active members and hundreds of active groups, and all the backing that comes from a consistently held faith. We know that only when the same devotion and sacrifice now being shown to war is given to peace-making, will any real progress be made, and it is for us at this time to show the way. Constant hiding from bombs breeds a fear complex and may lead to a slave mentality, whereas a decision to act—as the soldier is compelled to act—and to continue the work of peace-making undaunted may lead to a new initiative being taken in the near future.

My advice to all active group members is to be doubly active now bombs threaten. "Read, mark, learn and inwardly digest"; the writing on the wall is clear. Only by the most vigorous devotion to duty will the pacifist come through this testing-time unafraid.

And by the way, we have need of all your money as well as your time. Tragedy stalks abroad but can be faced by an unrelenting courage born of faith and backed by service.

What Does



★ Stand For? ★

A FULL summary of the position and activities of the Peace Pledge Union appears in this paper from time to time. As pressure on space prevents its publication every week, we hope new readers will either send for a copy of the last issue which contains it (June 21) or make sure of seeing it next time by placing a regular order for the paper.

The chief officers of the Union are:—Chairman: Dr. Alex Wood; Treasurer: Maurice L. Rowntree; Secretary: Stuart D. Morris.

Following are the present Sponsors of the P.P.U.:—

Vera Brittain; George M. Ll. Davies; Eric Gill; Dr. A. Herbert Gray; Laurence Housman; Aldous Huxley; John Middleton Murry; Max Plowman; Lord Ponsonby; Canon Charles E. Raven; Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P.; Dr. Donald O. Soper; Dame Sybil Thorndike; Wilfred Wellock; Arthur Wragg.

For further particulars write PPU headquarters, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. to which also should be sent signatures to the pledge which is the basis of membership:

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

THE POLICE AND PEACE NEWS

By John W. Cowling

THIS paper has some stalwart supporters all over Britain (though it badly needs more). Since the wholesalers' ban they have been meeting hostility and suspicion from some quarters. An example of this and of how to face it, comes from a town in Lancashire, where a pacifist stationer sells *Peace News* in his shop.

The dialogue reported below took place when a police-sergeant and a detective called at the shop; a fortnight previously the local library decided to exclude *Peace News* and in the report of the proceedings of the committee our friend was mentioned as still able to supply the paper. P stands for Police, S for Shopkeeper:

P: Can you let us have *Peace News*?
S: Yes, I can just spare you this copy.
P: How long have you been selling it?
S: Just over eighteen months.
P: How many copies?
S: Fifteen; it used to be eighteen weekly.
P: Are you a native of this town—born here?
S: Not quite. I've been here only 51 years.
P: Scarcely worth while selling this *Peace News*.
S: Not from that point of view.
P: (Looking at size). Seems a dear paper.
S: Ah! Good stuff in it. Look at the names—Vera Brittain, Middleton Murry, &c. I dare say you heard his wireless talks on world problems?
P: Was it the gardening chap?
S: Yes.
P: Are you a member of this society or... what?
S: Yes, certainly! The Christian Pacifist Group, affiliated to the F.O.R.
P: F.O.R.? (out comes pocket book). What's that?
S: Fellowship of Reconciliation, you know... George Lansbury... Canon Raven...
P: Fagan?
S: (slightly surprised). You know... Liverpool Cathedral.
P: Oh well, I suppose you could not give the address of their headquarters.
S: I couldn't exactly from memory; but I'll

tell you what you ought to do. Get a copy of the Annual Peace Book. All names... addresses... dozens of peace organizations.

P: I'm not interested; it's a subject we don't care about. There's a lot of matter being given out, and the government has told us to be on the look out... subversive... dangerous. This pacifism... is a form of lunacy... might be dangerous in war time. It appeals to the lower and more ignorant class... Pacifists don't matter in peace, but there is a war on; and we have strict instructions to stop this sort of thing... (his voice rose a bit to frighten) There must be no backsliding. (I think that was because I was a special constable in the last war; but refused to be one two years ago). Those who distribute in any way at any time this sort of stuff may find themselves in a concentration camp, like those abroad, or under police detention—for their own protection.

S: We shall be in good company.
P: Oh, we have all sorts at Winwick (mental hospital), parsons, B.A.s and clever people.
S: Well, we all have to do our duty as we see it.
P: People have a different way of... I believe in church and all that, but if it comes to fighting for my king and country I'll fight to a finish... Well, be careful and go slowly... (very furiously spoken).

Those who adopt the attitude of the police on this occasion may well be reminded that *Peace News* is under no official ban. The decision of the wholesalers was entirely their own; crippling as was its effect, any move to suppress the paper completely would be even more drastic and would be made by the authorities themselves.

While we are still officially allowed to exist, therefore, we may congratulate ourselves on our band of willing supporters. If they are all as firm and tactful as the Lancashire shopkeeper, many difficulties will be overcome—with the help of all their fellows members of the PPU.

C.O. Employees

THE decision of Manchester City Council (already reported in *Peace News*) to dismiss conscientious objector employees has now been extended to those in the civil defence services.

It was reported on Monday, however, that Southport Town Council was to reconsider its attitude to COs. A notice of motion had been tabled proposing to offer them re-engagement at pay equal to the pay and allowances of a private soldier plus a billeting allowance of 21s. a week. Ten local clergymen have sent to councillors a letter supporting the motion, in which they say:

Any decision to penalise conscientious objectors, or to subject them to the indignity of dismissal, appears to us not only to treat the dictates of conscience with contempt, but is contrary to the spirit and intention of the Ministry of Labour.

As stated in last week's *Peace News*, Leicester Co-operative Society has decided not to employ the wives of COs. Reports in some papers, however, appear to have stated that COs' wives already employed are to be dismissed, but this is not the case.

PEACE NEWS

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Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor *Peace News* itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsements of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised.) Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence owing to increased cost of postage.

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LOOKING BACKWARD

(continued from page 1)

So we pacifists have the right to criticize, and we intend to exercise it. Not for the sake of embarrassing our country, but because there are things worth trying to save—even in the midst of war; moral integrity for one. Those who believe that war is the final argument will do better to believe it like honest men. The position of Britain is now such that the rosy glow of moral illusionism is not necessary to kindle its defenders. It does us no good, and it may do us great harm, to pretend that we are fighting as champions of international morality and the defenders of democracy. On the first point, our proven faithlessness, our open surrender of a loyal democracy, was the cause of the Russo-German pact which, in the circumstances created by the foolish unilateral guarantee of Poland, precipitated the war. On the second point, we are defending our national existence; and we happen to be a democracy still. In that sense, and in no other, we are defending democracy.

We are fighting for our national existence; and for nothing else. We have shown plainly that we never intended to fight for anything else. Let us admit it. Then let us make it clear that so soon as we have secured our national existence we have done. Let us not go fighting blindly on beyond that, in the name of a moral ideal we have made no effort to serve. Let us not go on to crown our past achievements by a still more cynical "defence of democracy": this time not merely by surrendering democracies—which we could not help—but by starving them as well—which we can.

"Well, if you go into war now you will have more banners to decorate your cathedrals and churches... Then there may be titles, and pensions, and marble monuments to eternalize the men who have thus become great; but what becomes of you and your country, and your children? For there is more than this in store..."

"I confess when I think of the tremendous perils into which unthinking men—men who do not intend to fight themselves—are willing to drag or to hurry this country, I am amazed how they can trifle with interests so vast, and consequences so much beyond their calculation."—extracts from speech by John Bright, M.P., October 13, 1853.

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FELLOWSHIP Snack Bar wants peace man or woman to manage; quiet comfy b/s room and 25s.; assistance when busy. 24 Queen's Road, Farnborough, Hants.

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PACIFIST WINDOW CLEANER desires small or large jobs, St. Pancras District or near; fully insured; also line-washing.—Saint, 35 Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1. Holborn 4426.

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DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform. Vegetarian Guest House. Alt. 600ft. For happy holidays or restful recuperation. Central heating, h. and c. water in bedrooms.—A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briers, Crich, Matlock.

LONDON: FOWLER, "Newlyn House," 9 Argyle Street, W.C.1. B. and B., 5s., double, 8s. 6d. Opposite St. Pancras Station. Ter. 3572.

MISCELLANEOUS

CHESTER: Woman pacifist requires soon furnished flatlet, bed-sitting-room, or lodgings, preferably with piano.—Box 512, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

CYCLES: Britain's best at 45 18s., carriage paid; every necessary accessory, even to cyclo-meter. Made by over 40 years' established Harris Cycle Co., Coventry.

FORWARD MOVEMENT Literature, latest addition: All That England Stands For, by Eric Gill; price 1d. each, 12 for 9d.

LONDON PPU Members' Meeting: Tuesday, September 10, 7.45 p.m., Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street, W.1.; David Spreckley on PPU Policy and the Forward Movement.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

STRONG man wanted, lorry driver for West Country Provender Mill, part pacifist.—Box 511 *Peace News*, 3, Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG couple teaching small group children (age 7-12) welcome boarders 41 weekly inclusive. Modern methods. Young, B.A. (Cantab.), Hollyside, Brockweir, Chepstow.

Poetry and Dramatic Readings

Sunday evening poetry and dramatic readings will be given in the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney St., Oxford Street, London W.1., on September 15 and 29.

They will be given in the first case by Sybil Thorndike, Louis Casson and Ann Casson (introduced by Andrew Stewart) and on the latter date by Laurence Housman.

Admission will be free and there will be a silver collection in aid of the Peace Pledge Union and Women's Peace Campaign.